

EMBOLDENED COOPERATIVE SECURITY: GLOBALIZATION AND 21ST CENTURY U.S. SECURITY

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USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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U.S. SECURITY**

by

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ABSTRACT

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This SRP examines the impact of the continuing process of economic globalization - and thus political globalization - on U.S. strategic requirements. In the view of some observers, progressing globalization is causing significant long-term effects on U.S. national security interests that must be analyzed and understood.

This SRP reviews the origins of globalization and its influence on U.S. national security interests — within the context of a still evolving post-September 11th strategic landscape. In order to put globalization in perspective, it is examined in the context of prevailing U.S. strategic interests. The SRP then analyzes U.S. strategic vulnerabilities and opportunities created by revolutionary global information technology, the integration of global cultures and religions; and globalization's impact on the global political environment.

This SRP concludes that the United States should engage fully in the globalized world through a carefully crafted strategy of "Emboldened Cooperative Security." This proposed strategy focuses on the maintenance of a properly sized military force; the use of multilateral approaches; integrated interagency efforts; and an effects-based approach. There are many gaps and seams that military force alone cannot shape without the help of other nations. This strategy is intended to ensure the availability of that help.

EMBOLDENED COOPERATIVE SECURITY: GLOBALIZATION AND 21ST CENTURY U.S. STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS

What will the world look like in the future? What impact will globalization have on the nature and conduct of U.S. and global security? Expanding U.S. interests will spur expanding commitments from U.S. military forces. U.S. national interests are growing with every passing decade; numerous factors are contributing to this growth. Moreover, as globalization progresses, the interests of other nation states are becoming more global as well — even among those lacking in key natural resources. In numerous cases, these interests will not only be competing but also conflicting. The world has never been so internationalized, a reflection of a wider economic phenomenon: “Modern industrial societies, and indeed the present world economy, are built on reliance and interdependence, on free flow of goods, capital and technology and thus generally on the exploitation of benefits which can be reaped from the international division of labor.”¹

Globalization has been described as the worldwide integration of the flow of trade, capital, ideas, and people. Until 9/11, the United States tended to identify globalization primarily as an economic phenomenon, but as a result of that focusing event, we now understand that it likewise demands the clear enunciation and enforcement of a national security program as well.² This SRP examines the impact of the continuing process of Globalization on 21st Century U.S. national security interests and the national security strategy that will be required to contribute to securing those interests. Globalization is cited as a key element of U.S. national security strategy to promote global peace and stability; our current strategy must be expanded into a strategy of emboldened cooperative security backed by preeminent military force to protect the national interest and assist in managing the political and social consequences of a globalized world.

A consideration of Franklin D. Roosevelt's impulse toward decolonization and "development" reforms (evident in his Casablanca experience) suggests the importance of looking at globalization as a historical phenomenon whose roots are deeper than usually imagined. "Globalization moments" that go back as far as 1943 — and indeed much earlier — underline the way the forces fostering current processes and dynamics accumulated their strength over a long period of time. This has great relevance for contemplating the prospects of reforming or resisting the globalization with which we live in the early twenty-first century.³

The Vision of Globalization. The roots of globalization, as we know it today, were inspired by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His post World War II vision sought to change global security paradigms. Just as his domestic vision for the “New Deal” was to uplift American society, his global vision was to create an environment for peace and prosperity that replaced

totalitarian rule and imperialism with progressive international reform. He aspired to remove the fence of colonialism and assist developing nations in attaining autonomy and self sufficiency.

The elements of Roosevelt's vision for international security can be considered as prerequisites for the success of the globalization of free markets. His conception of state autonomy, free trade, and anti-imperialism served as the basis for a viable alternative to future world wars. In his 11 January 1944, State of the Union address, he published what he called the second bill of rights of "economic security." Laying the foundation for modern economic globalization, President Roosevelt stated that it is "The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad."⁴ He informed Congress that the implementation of these rights of "economic security" would be the basis for economic prosperity and lasting peace throughout the world.

In 1941, President Roosevelt articulated his wartime objectives within the context a foreign policy based on the "Four Freedoms," which now serve as the basis for the United Nations Charter. From the globalization perspective, President Roosevelt's third freedom — "Freedom from Want" — inspired the United Nations to commit itself to creating an international trading environment that would benefit all. Roosevelt defined "freedom from want"—as economic understandings which will assure every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants-everywhere in the world."⁵ The U.N. charter served as the foundation for expanded liberal trade throughout the second half of the 20th Century. In the Post World War II era, the United Nations Development Program was instrumental in connecting developing countries to the global network. This program expanded trade and created the world economic system that brought decades of unprecedented global prosperity. By the 1960's cracks began to appear in its foundation as trade relations began to fall apart under conditions of stagnant production, declining productivity, and intensified class conflict over higher wages, greater social benefits and better working conditions. ⁶ During the Cold War, a conflict of competing ideologies and values – democracy versus communism – it became imperative for the United States to engage in a long-term strategic response to support and strengthen free markets outside of the Soviet sphere of influence, primarily Eastern Europe. Failure to have done so would have increased pressures on the free market and risked a systematic crisis that could have led to a strategic defeat for the U.S.' Policy of Containment if developing nations had no economic incentive to reject a socialist system for democratic ideals. In the decades following World War II, successive U.S. administrations initiated a number of significant actions and long-term investments that kept the United States on an irreversible path towards globalization. Through

increased capital flows to developing nations and “unbalanced” trade agreements, the United States assumed the risks and responsibilities of the new global economic system. As the global economy developed, the American corporate sector, competing against a glut of goods on the international market, started to move their labor intensive industrial operations overseas to leverage lower labor costs. For the past 60 years, the United States has served as the world’s venture capitalists. Today, there is no question that the U.S.’ involvement in the global economy is integral to its continued prosperity and security. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s vision of international reform thus served as the U.S.’ and the worlds’ springboard for globalization as we see it today.

Some sixty years later, President Bush has now embraces globalization as a key element to enhance peace and prosperity across the world. George Riesman defines globalization as the process of bringing the entire world into the system of division of labor and thus into the system of social cooperation, of which division of labor is the essence. A fully globalized economy will mark the highest level of division of labor and social cooperation that it is possible for human beings to achieve, given the size of the world's population.⁷ He is optimistic that globalization has the potential to raise the productivity levels and living standards of the rest of the world. His theory assumes a maximum social cooperation among nations to extend the division of labor and outsource production abroad into a mutually dependent and mutually supporting global economic system of systems. Other economists concur with George Riesman. Martin Wolf characterizes globalization as a name for the process of integration across liberalizing market economies at a time of rapidly falling costs of transport and communication.⁸ Thomas Friedman describes globalization as the integration of markets, finance, and technologies in a way that is shrinking the world.⁹ While these noted analysts focus on the forecast of great benefits gained by liberally integrated global markets, they give scant attention to the security implications of expanding globalization.

This mixed assessment (effects of globalization) has important consequences for U.S. foreign policy and security policy. If globalization is making the world uniformly richer and safer, the United States can gradually wind down its defense spending and reorient its foreign policy away from security threats. If the world is splitting apart and becoming more violent, the United States will have to become more security-oriented and more focused on its limited vital interests, with or without allies. If the world is reacting unevenly to globalization, then the United States will need to remain globally engaged on more or less the same scale as it is now, but with somewhat different priorities and missions.¹⁰

Globalization and the Current Strategic Landscape. Many economists emphasize the benefits of globalization without fully considering its long-term effects on global and national

security. The United States must be aware of the national security implications of global economic interdependence. The 21st Century brings with it a world in which the U.S. economy and those of the world's other nations will become ever more interdependent. As a result, U.S. national interests will not only expand but also unexpectedly vary in their intensity. An important interest today could evolve into a vital interest tomorrow. Moreover, other major interests may emerge in regions to which major networked economic power centers expand. Consider the following three trends: First, with each passing year, American companies are moving their industrial bases — as well as some service bases — abroad to optimize benefits of cheap labor and taxes. If not managed carefully, this trend could place the U.S. in a position of over-reliance on other states for the stability and strength of the U.S. economy. Second, in key regions of the world there is growing resistance to globalization fed by the perception that the United States and other leading global nations are prospering from globalization by harvesting their resources while infusing their social infrastructure into an image of Western culture. As a result of this perception, dangerous alliances are being formed against the elites of the interconnected global system. Moreover, the global information network has transcended previously secure social barriers erected by closed societies. Because the technology of globalization virtually links the world together without respect to borders or cultures, differences of values and culture are starting to clash. Finally, populations of developing countries are becoming more industrialized and civilized. With this comes increasing demand for valuable resources across the globe. Competition for and protection of resources will be essential for the U.S. to continue to prosper. Recently, nations such as Venezuela, Cuba, Iran, and others, have *bandwagoned* to disrupt what they regard as U.S. imperialism.

These trends are key indicators of a perception that America is at the core of exploitive Western globalization and will benefit from it at the expense of other nations. As globalization envelopes more nations, it is inevitable there will be winners and losers as market competition increases. In such an environment, there will be great potential for the interests and policies of various nations to clash to the point of irreconcilability. Clausewitz tells us that, "War is an act of policy." ¹¹ If this holds true, the scale of conflict resulting from irreconcilable interests and policies on a global level may lead to war. Therefore, the cumulative effects of globalization in the 21st Century for the most part will be on the outcomes of the conflicting policies of the actors involved.

Thus far, we have considered trends which will affect the U.S. and other nations attempting to prosper in a globalized environment, but security in the 21st Century will be affected by recent events as well. The global war on terrorism and the Iraq War will have lasting

effects on the U.S. and its on-going ability to exercise its national power. The impact of the final outcome of the Iraq war will conceivably span this century. The U.S. ability to establish and maintain coalitions will be affected as well. The U.S. ability to exercise its power will also be affected by “Just War Criteria”. The reason we go to war, “*jus ad bellum*,” will affect U.S. policy on future decisions to use the military to protect the national interest. In the future, Americans will pressure the government to show concrete evidence to justify in using military force. It can be assumed that *Just Cause* rationale for going to war will need to be clear, if the present temperament of the American people and those of other nations about protracted war is a lasting condition. The U.S. government may resort primarily to justifications based on *Just Intent* or *Proportionality* justifications to protect its national interest abroad. To further complicate matters, of the United States stand to lose basing rights in numerous countries. Consequently, U.S. national security strategy will need to facilitate enhanced strategic positioning not only from the standpoint of projecting military power, but also — and arguably more important — from the standpoint of crafting and relying on relevant alliances, friendships and partnerships.

It can be assumed that the maintenance of global security in the 21st Century will require quick and decisive response from the U.S. and its global friends and allies. Given this assumption, maritime strategy is a central element in our national defense and military strategies. Thus it is integral to our National Security Strategy. Reliance on the fundamentals of maritime strategies, as promulgated by Alfred Thayer Mahan and Sir Julian Corbett, for U.S. grand strategy in the 21st Century is instructive for global security and future prosperity. Both strategists postulated a wide range of theories which are applicable today and can have significant impact in the future. Moreover, their theories are not only national but also global in perspective and fully account for economic and political implications.

Prevailing U.S. Strategic Interests in the Post-9/11 World

President Bush’s 2006 National Security Strategy embraces global economic growth through free markets and free trade. The administration’s strategy directs our leaders to seize the initiative in implementing and completing negotiations for free trade agreements across all regions. The President considers free trade integral to free societies. The challenges to free trade are clearly listed in the strategy; they include protectionism, poor governance, restricted capital distribution, and resource dependency. Given these challenges and the growing interdependence of expanding markets, there is significant probability of increased potential for second-and-third-order effects that could precipitate a global crisis. The more interdependent the market the more sensitive it will be to disruption. All participants will feel the effects of a

disruption to some degree. Section 10 of the 2006 National Security Strategy aptly addresses the opportunities and challenges of globalization:

Globalization presents many opportunities. Much of the world's prosperity and improved living standards in recent years derive from the expansion of global trade, investment, information, and technology. The United States has been a leader in promoting these developments, and we believe they have improved significantly the quality of life of the American people and people around the world. Other nations have embraced these opportunities and have likewise benefited. Globalization has also helped the advance of democracy by extending the marketplace of ideas and ideals of liberty. These new flows of trade, investment, information, and technology are transforming national security. Globalization has exposed us to new challenges and changed the way old challenges touch our interests and values, while greatly enhancing our capacity to respond.¹²

It is clear that the United States has fully adopted President Roosevelt's vision of creating a global environment of peace and prosperity through free trade and the advancement of the ideals of liberty and freedom abroad. What has to be understood; however, is that globalization also presents new challenges to our national security. Critics of globalization now claim that only the global elite are embracing this phenomenon because they are the primary beneficiaries. However, globalization, and the freedom it fosters through connectivity, requires a bodyguard, because there are still numerous forces throughout the Gap and even in the Core working against it.¹³ Also, the extension of the market place of ideas has been perceived as an extension of U.S.' soft power by some inside and outside the global network. A key danger of globalization are perceptions based on the divergence between winners and losers both among and within states.¹⁴ Additionally, the President's final sentence states that globalization greatly enhances our capacity to respond. But from a security perspective, globalization will expand our interests and therefore actually complicate our capacity to respond. The United States must develop the capacity to respond not just to the economic consequences of globalization but to its social and political effects as well.

The Global Information Technology Revolution

Information technology can dramatically increase the inequalities and tensions between the developed world and the developing world. The meteoric rise of affordable information and communications technologies has been heralded as the vanguard of a kinder, gentler, more well-connected world order. While such technology does indeed improve the capacity for genuine dialogue and understanding between people with diverse national, ethnic, and religious identities, it is much more likely that the new ease of information access will sacrifice depth and insightfulness for shallow, half-baked approaches to intercultural communication.¹⁵

Information technology is today, and will be in the future, the major driver of the globalization train. However, along with economic passengers, social and political passengers will be on board as well. Stated plainly, among the positive aspects of utilizing information to enhance global economic prosperity there are a number of negative consequences as well. These will emerge from global social and political forces that will seek to marginalize the power of nation states by disrupting the global network. In a globalized world, the threats posed by network disruption, non-authentic information, and contagion are significant. These information-related threats can be expected to intensify as the importance and scope of networks increase. The global economy is heavily dependent on the global information network. If the network is disrupted for an extended period, this hiatus can have significant effects on the entire economic system. Information network disruption can stop the flow of goods and finances or any other electronic element supporting the global economy. The numerous viruses injected by globalization's antagonists are nothing less than attempts to disrupt the global economy by exploiting the overextension of the global economic network.

Over-reactions to false information received by all members of the connected society is also a strategic concern. In a global network, information can be received from many undetectable or false sources. The speed at which information travels can trigger reaction from the connected actors faster than at any time in history. Minor state or regional economic crises of small proportions in the 20th Century allowed governments to tend to the matter before it affected the global market. Today, an economic crisis within any entity of the global information and economic network can cause an immediate ripple effect through the global economy of a magnitude much greater than what the world has previously experienced. In this "informationally" flatter world, populations can revolt on exaggerated information they receive through the information network. This happened in the 1990s in Argentina when there was a revolt against the government as a result of an economic crisis. It is conceivable that a crisis such as this could spread through an entire region given the interdependence of the global economy and the inability to moderate the information flow regarding the crisis.

One of the most pressing global information issues is "contagion," which occurs when virtual alliances formed across state boundaries or oceans elevate the "weaponization" of viruses to new levels. Non-state actors can achieve asymmetric effects by forming virtual alliances based on common ideology. This new threat poses a critical vulnerability because these actors have economic, social, and political intent to disrupt the new world order of globalization. We must learn to exploit national means to deal with non-state actors, be they individuals, terrorist cells, political groups, NGOs, corporations, or others who now act in ways

and with effects that only nations once had. This problem is further magnified because these groups can work in ways that are both invisible to our current systems and incapable of being contained until they have manifested themselves as crises.¹⁶

In a sense, Information technology has served as an equalizer between global state powers, such as the United States and non-state actors. Because of the decentralized and distributed methods used to disseminate information through the global network, non-state actors can mobilize their coalitions quickly, execute their attacks, and quickly disperse into cyberspace. Furthermore, they can cleverly use of the information network to break up coalitions by exploiting fissures within the populations of other nations causing them to rise up against or threaten their own governments or those that are part of opposing coalitions.

Communal conflict, although not totally attributable to globalization itself, is becoming a hallmark of globalization. Regardless of the cause, the United States is unprepared to deal with it, either diplomatically or militarily. One of globalization's major side effects has been the accelerated revival of religious and cultural identities that, as a result of the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the technological advances of the 20th century, that were once thought to be in decline.¹⁷

Cultural Encroachment and Globalization. As governments in the developing world continue to slip behind in the globalizing economy, the religious and cultural differences between Westernized elites and the non-Western masses will be fertile ground for demagogues hoping to base their rise to power on a global version of the American "culture wars."¹⁸

Globalization will unavoidably accentuate clashes of cultures and religions. The question is whether these clashes will be manageable. Optimists believe that globalization will meld the world together and elevate the "have nots" to the status of "haves." As a result, they see globalization as a mechanism for mitigating the sources of friction between people of different cultures and religions and economic classes. The advocates of globalization espouse the belief that prosperity will douse the fires of resentment between peoples who have different sets of values and beliefs. On the contrary, history tells us that prosperity for all does not beget peace and stability for all. For example, the elites of various cultures and religions have benefited immensely from the global economy; however, many have not set aside differences between themselves and others in the interest of enhancing the prosperity of their people as a whole. The theory of globalization posits that the fruits economic prosperity will "trickle down" from the elites to the masses entrenched in poverty. There are some societies that don't let this happen. The elites of Saudi Arabia enjoy the riches from their global oil sales, but the Saudi masses live in poverty. In this particular example, the elites profess that their cultural identity is the reason for this status quo. In their view, any other economic structure would be unacceptable because

it would incite the destruction of their society. However, the experience of global integration to date shows that the driving forces of expanding globalization can and will penetrate the barriers that the elites have put in place.

On the other hand, those who are not so optimistic about the security implications of globalization point out that many forces are bearing on the globalization of culture. Of greatest concern are the forces that will penetrate and disrupt cultures and religions within societies across the globe. Many experts assert that the soft power of globalization will stoke the fires of outrage and resentment. As information technology creates more awareness among the oppressed and disenfranchised, they will gain greater awareness of how others around the world are living and compare that standard to their own. Whereas in the past they had no way of knowing they were oppressed because they lacked the means by which to compare their condition to that of others in the world, some assert that once they make this comparison, their resentment and outrage will be directed towards the elites of their own society. In many cases the elites will respond to this trend by admitting that it is against their cultural and religious values to live a life of prosperity and excess. Some will accept this and some will not. Is it in United States' interest for them not to accept it? Our policy of promotion of democracy and individual empowerment is based on the theory that people will live in peace if they feel they have equity in their governance system and also have the freedom to elevate themselves to a better life. The United States hopes globalization will embolden the oppressed to unite and pressure the elites in their society to change the status quo. However, U.S. and Western security concerns will be exacerbated if the elites of those societies redirect this outrage and resentment to the main proponents of globalization. Globalization has thus been characterized by various autocratic and theocratic leaders throughout the world to redirect their population's anger and frustrations toward the United States by new names such as Americanism, Virtual Imperialism, U.S. Soft Power, and American Primacy. Many observers believe that much of the violence that occurs in the name of religion is a political backlash against social dislocations associated with globalization. U.S. policy makers need to realize that the positive effects of globalization can have negative second-and-third order effects of strategic proportions.

Another significant effect of globalization is mass migration. Many who experience the positive effects of globalization will seek a better life elsewhere. If globalization doesn't change conditions in their own country, they will migrate to Western states with great expectations. Europe is experiencing a migration flow from regions that are disconnected from the global economic system. Most European states have welcomed this migration for years because it satisfied a labor shortage in their industrial base resulting from low birth

rates and aging populations. However, an unanticipated effect of this flow has been growing dissatisfaction among immigrants. The root cause of this problem is immigration without integration. Almost all of this immigration has been, and continues to be, illegal. Europeans, who have never been welcoming to immigrants in general, are powerless to stop this wave. However, it's taken them more than thirty years to acknowledge the problem — enough time for the Muslim immigrants to build up, in effect, their own subcultures within the larger European nations. There would be hostility even if the immigrants were blond, blue-eyed Christians; but since they are dark-skinned, Arabic-speaking Muslims, they are often treated with bigoted contempt.

The bombings in Spain and the United Kingdom, as well as the recent Islamic uprising in France, are clear indicators of the future perils resulting from expedient immigration policies. Interestingly, many European States, especially France and Spain, do not view the challenges posed by global immigration as threats to national security. They view them as isolated policing actions necessitated by the actions of a few social discontents. The United States would do well to view these events in terms of the long-term impact they will have on the European Union as a whole and in terms of the growing security threat posed by mass immigration without intergration. At worst, this flood of immigrants could tear the continent apart. One can imagine a scenario in which Muslim terrorists with "guest worker" visas could blow up the Eiffel Tower, the Reichstag, and Big Ben all in one day. Instead of triggering a unified response, such an event could fragment the European Union. Each nation may react by closing its borders. Internal security conflicts could tear down the trust developed over time among governments. New border controls could lead to reinstated tariffs. The Euro would crash and the countries would revert to their original currencies. Within thirty years, war could once again ravage the continent.¹⁹

The clash of cultures is not just limited to Europe but is prevelant in the Asia-Pacific as well. The fighting between Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas (formerly known as the Spice Islands and now part of Indonesia) stems in part from a sudden, destabilizing influx of migrants that upset the balance between the two groups.²⁰

In an increasingly globalized world, culture has emerged as a central arena of conflict. Other issues on the globalization agenda, especially economic ones such as trade, aid, and investment, are more readily subject to negotiation and compromise, but culture in its various forms serves as a primary carrier of globalization and modern values. Cultural issues are so fraught precisely because of their impact on both individual and national identity, and because culture has become a signifier for other more deep-seated and intractable issues, the problems it poses are harder to resolve.²¹

The 2006 National Security Strategy addresses globalization from a positive viewpoint. It is viewed as an enabler to promote democracy and as a stabilizer for the global society. However, there should be a warning label affixed to the “globalization bottle.” This label should inform us that “Consumption of this product can produce unintended secondary effects such as political redirection of cultural and ethnic resentment and immigration without integration.” If not adequately addressed, both of these effects of the driving forces of globalization will have strategic implications for the United States and others in the global community.

The Global Political Evolution

Globalization is not bringing geopolitics to an end. Many traditional forms of geopolitics remain active on the world scene, and in some places, globalization is giving rise to new stresses and turbulence in the international system. Taming both the old and new geopolitical dynamics in order to allow for globalization’s positive effects to advance will be a key challenge of statecraft. The intelligent use of U.S. military power and maintenance of security partnerships with cooperating countries will be key to achieving this goal.²²

Many economists say that the world economy will achieve interdependence in this century. They believe that globalization will tie the economies of all global players into a tight network of mutually supporting entities. Numerous questions arise about the implications that can arise from such interdependence. Will the United States economy, residing in the core of the global network, be susceptible to any economic downturn of a given member in the network? Or will the global economy be a system-of-systems enabling the U.S. economy to experience only minimal effects from the disruption of one or several other parties? However, we should recall that the “Asian Flu” of the 1980s affected the world economy significantly. Anne O Kruger claims that “economic globalization is a phenomenon by which economic agents in any given part of the world are much more affected by events elsewhere in the world than before.”²³ David Henderson, former chief economist of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, defines economic globalization as the free movement of goods services, labor and capital thereby creating a single market input and output; and full national treatment for foreign investors (and nationals working abroad) so that economically speaking, there are no foreigners.²⁴ Based on this definition, is it logical to think that a more globalized economy can bestow significantly more benefits on other countries within the global network if one or several countries’ economy is disrupted? Additionally, will non-government organizations such as the WTO, IMF, and World Bank be able to manage globalization effectively to keep the global economy in balance? Furthermore, and of equal concern, what organizations and institutions are properly postured to address the security challenges posed by globalization?

The United States, as the world's economic and military leader must be prepared to meet the challenges with effective national security policies to back up its international economic policies. There are four principal implications of economic globalization that will affect United States national security interests: 1) Expanding American economic interdependence, 2) growth of transition states, 3) global income distribution, and 4) competition for resources. There are many other implications of economic globalization; however, these are the phenomena that will most likely affect U.S. National Security the most.

The U.S.' economy is highly interdependent with international markets. As globalization has evolved, transnational corporations have emerged at the center of this interdependence. At the turn of the century there were over 3000 multinational corporations (MNC). Companies such as McDonalds, Nike, Coca-Cola, and Wal-Mart are heavily integrated into international markets. Moreover, much of the U.S.' industrial base is moving overseas to gain trade advantages or to benefit from cheaper labor and materials costs. Proponents of transnational corporations (TNC) maintain that they provide host nations with increased employment opportunities thereby raising the standard of living of its citizens while increasing the market for U.S. exports. However, the opponents of globalization say that this practice is more like an exploitation of developing nations. British journalist John Lloyd argues that economic globalization is essentially Western/American capitalism, which is an oppressive and impoverishing force²⁵ Martin Wolf cited many more adverse consequences: The process undermines democracy, imposing in its place the rule of unaccountable bureaucrats; it is an abdication of power by benevolent democratic governments in favor of predatory private corporations; it creates mass destitution and inequality between nations; it lowers real wages and labor standards and increases economic insecurity everywhere.²⁶ Whether we give more credence to the proponents or critics of globalization, there is considerable evidence that macroeconomic instability can produce national security implications for the United States as a result of vulnerabilities growing out of global economic interdependence. Arguably, at the strategic level, the migration of American multinational corporations' industrial, labor, and financial bases abroad essentially moves America's economic center of gravity abroad. The "hidden hand" of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is U.S. military power.²⁷

Economic development in Asia will leave a legacy of wealthier, more complex economies, with substantial international involvements, prosperous bourgeoisies, and well-off middle classes. These are likely to lead towards more pluralistic and possibly more democratic politics, which will not necessarily, however, be more

pro-Western. Enhanced power will instead promote continued Asian assertiveness in international affairs and efforts to direct global trends in ways uncongenial to the West and to reshape international institutions away from western models and norms.²⁸

Transition states have used globalization to elevate their global economic status. India and China are transition states that have benefited the most from globalization. The concern is that these countries—for lack of experience—will not make rational decisions in the event of economic downturns within their economies. Some argue that these countries have not handled economic success well. History has shown that countries gaining initial strong growth outcomes followed by inflation inevitably overheat their economies. Since open capital markets often put unsustainable stress on the banking, insurance, and regulatory sectors of developing economies, it is not surprising that countries like China, India, and Malaysia have chosen various forms of capital controls and resistance to significant aspects of economic globalization.²⁹ Their natural response is to implement protectionist policies inimical to globalization processes designed to benefit the whole system. This could cause imbalances in regional and global growth and distribution, resulting in spiraling inflation due to internal inflationary pressures. David P.H. Denoon believes that “In the next decade, fundamental security challenges that threaten large parts of the American population are likely to come only from the large transition states that have the economic strength and technical prowess to inflict widespread physical damage or massive economic disorder.”³⁰ As economic globalization progresses others states around the world will aspire to shift the global balance of power through their own increased economic prosperity. Smaller transition and traditional states, as well as assorted terrorist groups, could damage selected areas of the United States but will unlikely be able to threaten the basic integrity of American society.³¹ Economic disruptions in transition states will cause domestic instability. There is a high probability the blame for this will be cast outwardly toward the hegemon of the global economic system: the United States.

Some negative second and third order effects experienced by transition states are increasing unemployment, increased poverty, and resentment against the beneficiaries of economic growth. Nevertheless, if the turmoil caused by massive capital flows is great; if competition against local producers is daunting; and if outside information threatens previously stable regimes, it will take a concerted global effort to limit the impact of this fallout. In the final analysis, it is very difficult to predict the political, cultural, and security implications of globalization.³² The World Trade Organization was chartered to create international economic cooperation within the context of a level playing field. Its mission is to establish a fair and balanced global trade system. This Organization has been moderately successful at handling

trade disputes for its members. In the future, as globalization expands, it will be very unrealistic to think the WTO will be able to appease all players in an increasingly competitive economic environment. Critics of globalization say the world does not have a limitless supply of resources. Therefore, global income distribution is a zero sum game. There will always be winners and there will always be losers. World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies are designed to support steady sustainable growth for the economies of developing nations. Steady sustainable growth is important because high variability in growth rates leads to speculative behavior during booms and deep pessimism and resentment during downturns. Hence, the United States needs to recognize that its interests and the interests of vulnerable economies are highly intertwined. This may mean that defense policy will need to be better informed by the trends of economic behavior in traditional and transition states. We must remain attentive to levels of defense spending, corruption and demography – and sensitive to opportunities to dovetail defense programs with broader development objectives.³³

In order to develop their investment strategies, TNCs, the main actors of globalization, need the assurance of political stability and security. It is an old story that military force, either from abroad or within the country, is one of the instruments for TNCs. National armies and military alliances have to assure that the interest of TNCs, the re-colonization of the world, are met first.³⁴

Within the globalization process, economic convergence exacerbates political divergence. If nations become prosperous under globalization, this does not mean they will set aside their political ideologies. Esther Bacon thus rebuts the notion that globalization will produce a homogeneous world where only one idea—the rational pursuit of prosperity—will shape foreign policy.³⁵ The IMF, G-8, WTO, and World Bank have no military mechanism to enforce the hard decisions they will be forced to make. Will the United States be expected to fulfill this enforcer's role?

The 2006 U.S. National Security Strategy views the policy of expanding free markets and free trade for global economic growth as the basis for achieving global stability. However, there are numerous uncertainties regarding how transition states will react in the face of adversity. Moreover, the security concerns of American TNC's vulnerabilities emanate from host nations' perceptions of "virtual colonization." Denoon has noted that economic globalization has three principal implications for U.S. security interests. First, the distinction between the defense sector and the economy at large is diminishing. This will require national defense policy to adopt more efficient techniques for optimizing the benefits of integration with the global economy. Second, more preparations are needed for dealing with the effects of market

disruption. Third, there are various unresolved policy dilemmas that will affect the way the United States deals with economic issues in developing countries. Although the military services will not have the lead in shaping these initiatives, DOD policy and strategy should be well informed by them.”³⁶

The cumulative effects of the globalization of cultures, economies, and information will produce significant political ramifications. The virtually “smaller and flatter” world brings together a divergence of political agendas. Even in an era of globalization, countries retain wide discretionary latitude in their foreign policies; for many, their ideology helps define their main strategic motives, purposes, and ambitions.³⁷ The Bush Administration’s main strategy is promotion of democracy and free trade. This strategy is based on the Kantian concept of the “democratic peace.”³⁸ There are a number of probable political consequences that can make this standing commitment to democracy a false assumption. For example, in a global market where rising competition is inevitable, some developing nations will lose out and feel unjustly treated. The perceived lack of global democratic governance in globalization can exacerbate political tensions and lead to conflict. Not only are there no effective forms of popular participation or substantive democracy in the global context, but also, under the conditions of globalization, effective decision-making on key policy issues— including regulation of capital— have been shifted towards international institutions, such as the IMF, the World bank, and the G-8 forum. These institutions have a reputation for being notoriously undemocratic in their political processes.³⁹

Does U.S. military force structure match our National Security Strategy? The Presidents’ aggressive aspirations for global free trade and promotion of democracy cannot be achieved in a non secure environment. Globalization’s promise is based on the notion that the economic interdependence of trading partners will mitigate the potential for political and military conflict.⁴⁰ History informs us of the shortcomings of this assumption. Germany and Great Britain were good trading partners before World War I; however, Germany’s political aims outweighed the benefits of economic integration and prosperity. Some argue that the security environment in the globalized era can be divided into four categories of nations: First are the successful nation-states that have benefited significantly from globalization but maintain strategic goals at odds with United States’ interests. Prominent in this category is China. If China emerges as an assertive geopolitical power, the consequences could spell trouble for Asia’s stability and for U.S. interests there.⁴¹ The second category are developing nations integrated into the global economic system but disgruntled because they are suffering from a backlash from the highly competitive system. Throughout much of the developing world, this harsh awakening to

globalization's downside has precipitated resistance and resignation, a feeling that globalization is a "false god" foisted on weaker states by the capitalist centers of the West.⁴² The third category are the non-integrated countries that fall outside the global economic sphere. Thomas Barnett refers the one-third of humanity that remains locked outside of this peaceful sphere in regions that are weakly connected to the global economy as the "Non-integrating gap."⁴³ Finally, the fourth category are the non-state actors that reside within rogue states, failed states, or developing nations with the intent to disrupt global economic and political processes. The groups that fall into this fourth category are particularly dangerous simply because it is often hard to determine what they want. Some have said of these groups, that "they don't want a seat at the table; they want to blow the table up."

The United States cannot afford to have a wholly reactive defense policy. To take Barnett's municipal servant analogy a step further, America needs a military that serves as a cop on the beat to maintain order and deter aggression. During this era of globalization, current defense policy relies too heavily on the military element of power; like firemen, our military is deployed only to put out fires. But in most cases, a fireman's first priority is to put the fire out, not to save the structure. Arguably, today's military is overcommitted. But globalization is only going to increase our national interests in the face of proliferating security threats. Although many European States are heavily dependant on the global economy, many are often either unwilling or unable to build their militaries in proportion to their global interests. As a result, these nations depend on the U.S. to provide global security. Given that this is the current state of affairs which, the United States must transform its overall defense policy to one predicated on a concept of Emboldened Cooperative Security.

Emboldened Cooperative Security

Traditionally, our armed forces focus on fighting and winning wars. While we need to be prepared to operate across the full spectrum of conflict, in the new security landscape we conclude that early engagement, often requiring modest investment, can yield significant long-term dividends. In many cases, early actions can minimize or eliminate future engagements. Our approach to proactive versus reactive engagement highlights TSC (Theater Security Cooperation) as a cost effective and very important capability. Reforms to our existing national TSC authorization are necessary to promote greater efficiencies, and to more effectively expand U.S. influence in accordance with National Military Strategy and OSD Security Cooperation.⁴⁴

This SRP has analyzed globalization and assessed its implications for United States national security. It shows that globalization will increase U.S. national interests and responsibilities across the globe. Moreover, it suggests that these expanded interests and

responsibilities could cause a policy and strategy mismatch. A comparison of the National Security Strategy and the National Defense Strategy reveals a notable gap in the current Administration's expectations of national security and the Department of Defense's capacity to implement that vision. The National Security Strategy states the U.S. must "Ignite an era of Global Economic Growth through free markets and free trade and engage the opportunities and confront the challenges of globalization." However, the National Defense Strategy specifies vulnerabilities and questions our ability to achieve this objective:⁴⁵

- Some allies will decide not to act with us or lack the capacity to act with us.
- Our leading position in world affairs will continue to breed unease, a degree of resentment, and resistance.
- Our capacity to address global security challenges alone will be insufficient.
- International actors are choosing paths contrary to the interests of the United States.
- Crises related to political stability and governance will pose significant challenges. Some may threaten fundamental interests of the United States and require military response.

These vulnerabilities and challenges have arisen from security trends that must inform future defense policy and strategy. Prominent among these are the following: 1) Coalitions we have built in Iraq and Afghanistan are in danger of weakening because partner nations lack long-term resolve. 2) The antagonists of globalization have disseminated propaganda to generate negative perceptions of the United States. 3) Economic prosperity achieved in the integrated global economy does not guarantee that partner nations' interests will be congruent with those of the United States. 4) The United States is perceived to have insufficient military capacity to address global security challenges by itself.

Although the NSS advises the use of all elements of national power, there are indicators that the military element of power will be most prominent in shaping the international security environment of the 21st Century. Given the uncertainty of threats posed by the cultural-religious, economic, and political challenges of globalization combined with the information technology revolution, the other three elements of national power (diplomatic, information, and economic) have been subordinated to some degree. Rogue states and violent extremists have not responded well to the application of diplomatic, information, and economic power. The arguable ineffectiveness of economic sanctions on Iraq in the last decade is a case in point. Many countries still traded with Saddam's regime, despite numerous U.N. resolutions. In light of such situations, the United States must formulate a defense policy relevant to the 21st century strategic environment in order to adequately secure its national interest. A national security

strategy based on the concept of “Emboldened” Cooperative Security would meet this requirement. This strategy of “Emboldened” Cooperative Security would be supported by four key pillars:

- A Properly Sized Military
- Multilateral Approaches
- Expanded Interagency Efforts
- An Effects-Based Approach

In the *DOD Security Cooperation Guidance*, then Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld declared, “The goal is to focus DoD Security Cooperation on activities that most effectively advance U.S. security interests and, as a result, build the right defense partnerships for the future.”⁴⁶ The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) is the lead DoD agency tasked with carrying out this guidance. Its objective is to lead direct and manage security cooperation programs and resources to support national security objectives that:

- Build relationships that promote U.S. interests
- Build allied and partner capacities for self-defense and coalition operations in the global war on terrorism
- Promote peacetime and contingency access for U.S. forces

These objectives were perhaps sufficient to ensure regional peace and stability in the last decade, but in a globalized world there are many more effects beyond of DoD’s focus that can cause unintended security related consequences. The ultimate U.S. objective is global peace and stability. However, we need to do much more to ensure lasting peace and stability as the effects of globalization take hold. DSCA envisions strength through cooperation, excellence, and innovation. To achieve this vision and achieve national security objectives, the U.S. Government must leverage the “innovation” piece of DSCA’s vision and incorporate it into a transformed national security policy. Emboldened Cooperative Security integrates all elements of national power — as along with all elements of national influence.

A Properly Sized Military. Globalization will have strong implications on security policies and on the ways we shape the global environment and resolve conflicts. To shape this environment, the U.S. should size its military forces with the capacity to sustain global presence and carry out expeditionary operations. The network of world-wide commitments and interests will mandate a robust forward presence and power projection capability.⁴⁷ All of the services, including the Coast Guard, must continue to contribute to traditional maritime missions, however, the Navy and Marine Corps will likely retain a primary role, especially in crisis prevention and crisis response roles that will be an important part of day-to-day operations.⁴⁸

The maritime services will be key enablers for protecting global interests for two reasons: First, with the significant loss of basing rights abroad, we must occupy the sea to maintain strategic positioning in the areas of interest. Second, maritime trade is increasing as global integration progresses. So other nations are making greater use of the sea. Economic globalization fosters international trade, and maritime trade accounts for over 90 percent of international trade by volume.⁴⁹ This warrants a maritime force structure that has the capacity to support the objectives and priorities of a 21st Century National Security Strategy of “Emboldened” Cooperative Security through global presence and expeditionary power projection.

Alfred Thayer Mahan’s theories are still applicable to U.S. national security in the 21st Century. The expansion of global trade and free markets has placed an added burden on the U.S. This new trade intensive environment will have a direct effect on the nature of war for the U.S. and its allies. Mahan’s theories apply to other nations as well. The world in general, and the seas in particular, have been internationalized, a reflection of the wider global phenomenon. “Modern industrial societies, and indeed the present world economy, are built on reliance and interdependence, on the free flow of goods, capital and technology and thus generally on the exploitation of benefits which can be reaped from the international division of labor.” As this international division of labor becomes ever more dispersed, however, the provision of naval protection for maritime activities is going to have to be reconsidered due to its growing importance.⁵⁰

One of Mahan’s political arguments held that sea power had played a decisive role in the history of international relations and would continue to do so.⁵¹ In this century, the United States has maintained its status as a global sea power. The effects of our commerce and naval presence in major theaters are significant. As reflected in the current National Security Strategy, The Bush Administration puts a priority on being the leader in igniting global economic growth through free markets. Global trade then enables developing nations to become stable sovereign states, thereby making them less susceptible to infiltration by terrorists. The Administration’s political-economic argument contends that national prosperity – and in turn the capacity to wage war – depends to a large extent upon external trade, which requires the protection of a strong navy.⁵² Our Navy today will have an increasing role to sustain forward presence in the future. Given the increased U.S. dependence on overseas trade, any disruption of the free flow of maritime trade abroad would have a negative effect on the global economy. Still today, U.S. military presence is an enduring strategic requirement. The Naval Operational Concept 2006 states “The Navy-Marine Corps team will deploy to, or station in, focused areas overseas to demonstrate national resolve, strengthen alliances, deter, and dissuade potential

adversaries, and enhance our ability to respond quickly to crises.”⁵³ But Strategic Deterrence is effective only when forces are credible and in the proper location.

Sir Julian Corbett believed in power projection from the sea as well. His theory is important in the 21st Century context because of emerging trends: Since the end of the Cold War, forward basing of U.S. power projection capabilities (troops, missiles, ships, etc.) has been on the decline. Seaborne power projection has thus become the principal role for naval forces in the nuclear age. But the seas themselves remain crucial assets to the world economy and hence to the overall security of states.⁵⁴ He also differed from Mahan in that he believed naval forces should possess power projection capabilities to influence events ashore. Whereas Mahan concluded that command of the sea was a decisive *way* to national wartime *ends*, one of Corbett’s most controversial arguments was that sea power provided limited, but significant, pressure against major opponents in order to force political concessions and achieve the objectives of war.⁵⁵ Corbett concluded that the sea was a highway for the navy to travel for the purpose of establishing strategic positions to project power at sea or ashore. He believed that the final end-state would be decided on land. “Since men live upon land and not upon the sea, great issues between nations at war have always been decided – except in the rarest cases – by what an opposing army could do against your territory and national life or else by the fear of what an enemy fleet could enable that army to do.”⁵⁶ In summary, Corbett supports the argument that naval forces used in a cumulative or sequential military strategy with air and land forces, and paramount. In the 21st Century, the U.S. must continue to employ agile and synergistic military power as part of a strategy of Emboldened Cooperative Security that not only leverages U.S. military capabilities but also those of our allies, friends, and partners as part of a larger multi-lateral approach to global security.

Globalization can create new vulnerabilities and tensions as well as ease or transform old ones, and seemingly peaceful trends can cause violence with little or no strategic warning. The problems that globalization creates for military force planners are also fundamentally different from those it creates for other analysts. Military planners do not need to plan for a future in which economic development ends a chief source of tension among nations. They do not need to plan for a world in which global information systems create a level of mutual understanding that resolves many past causes of conflict, or for a world that converges around democracy and shared values. Such a world is a world in which military planners can gradually go out of business. Military planners do, however, need to plan for other global trends that are more threatening and are at least equally likely to shape the first half of the 21st century.⁵⁷

Multilateral Approaches. In the globally connected environment of the 21st century, the most effective method of shaping the international environment will be through multilateral

approaches. There are many gaps and seams in the 21st century global environment that U.S. military force alone cannot shape without the help of other nations. Ignoring these gaps and seams can be detrimental to the security of the United States and that of its allies, friends, and partners. In the '90s, President Clinton's National Security Strategy called for engagement and enlargement through multilateral approaches. This effort was approached from an interagency perspective of which DoD was only one component. Although the regional Commanders in Chief (CINCs) were an important component of this strategy, they were expected to work within the much broader context of the other elements of national power — diplomatic, informational, and economic.⁵⁸ General Anthony Zinni, then CINC Central Command, was extremely proactive in establishing an emboldened theater security cooperation program to support emerging policy. To General Zinni, Engagement and multilateralism translated to *shape*, which is the first piece the current QDR's theme *Shape, Respond, Prepare*.

Although the Clinton Administration's strategy intended to take a comprehensive multilateral and interagency approach in its national security and defense policy, it did not come to fruition. For various reasons— not least among them resourcing and bureaucratic agendas— a disproportionate burden of this strategy fell upon the United States, specifically DoD. Even today our combatant commanders struggle to convince legislators and policy-makers in Washington that cooperative security is the most effective means to enhance national security in the globalized world. Combatant commanders periodically testify before Congress to justify their cooperative security efforts in order to get more funding. On 7 March 2006, EUCOM Commander, General James Jones, informed Congress that "Theater Security Cooperation programs represent a much needed proactive approach to building partnership capacity with the aim of enabling emerging democracies to defend their homelands, address and reduce regional conflicts, defeat terrorist extremists and develop common economic and security interests."⁵⁹ Given the state of the international security environment coupled with U.S.' dependence on the success of the globally integrated economy, the U.S. should commit fully to global cooperative security.

An adequate multilateral approach to Emboldened Cooperative Security requires three key components: interagency coordination, cross regional/state integration, and effective strategic communications. Emboldened Cooperative Security will require full integration of the agencies of government and NGOs. CDR PACOM, Admiral Fallon, claims "One of the most important features of PACOM theater security cooperation is the security assistance effort we execute in partnership with the Department of State and in close cooperation with our embassy country teams."⁶⁰ CDR EUCOM also declared, "We work to improve interagency coordination

across the spectrum of governmental and nongovernmental organizations in order to achieve optimal national results.”⁶¹ As a whole, Emboldened Cooperative Security leverages the use of all elements of national power as well as the power made available through multi-lateral partnerships. In order to optimize interagency alignment and unity of effort in support of this new strategy, key federal agencies must be organized to leverage regional competencies, not just domestic and state competencies. Such key agencies might include the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and Health and Human Services. This will create broader interagency alignment to achieve the synergy and unity of effort necessary to network cooperative security among the states within the region. The aim is to achieve cross-governmental coordination. In the Global War on Terrorism, the U.S. is faced every day with the challenge of multinational coordination. This issue is most challenging where lines of responsibility have been drawn between India and Pakistan. CDR PACOM is responsible for India, and CDR CENTCOM is responsible for Pakistan. The solution is not the DoD-centric option of periodically redrawing the areas of responsibility in the Unified Command Plan when threats reveal themselves. A better solution is to align and organize the interagency to meet emerging 21st century requirements.

Cooperative security is enhanced through effective strategic communications. Specifically, the United States needs to eliminate the perception within many states that globalization is a form of U.S. imperialism or “virtual colonialism.” This growing perception is a threat to global security; and consequently, to global economic prosperity. Increased humanitarian actions within developing nations are the key to winning hearts and minds. These actions should not be reserved for a time of crisis; rather they should be implemented on a daily basis.

Many nations prospering from economic globalization are not investing in the capacity to maintain security because they do not realize the potential threats from its economic, social, or political aspects. It is incumbent on the United States to establish cooperative security among the interdependent nations. The use of multilateral approaches in “Emboldened” Cooperative Security is a critical enabler for the United States to shape the 21st Century international security environment. Interagency coordination, cross regional/state integration, and effective strategic communications can be the keys to achieving national security objectives and reducing the potential threats expanding globalization may ignite.

Expanded Interagency Efforts. In the volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous (VUCA) environment that stems from globalization, bilateral defense relations with foreign governments alone will not assure peace and stability. The causes of conflict usually originate with political, cultural, or economic differences amongst states. Emboldened Cooperative Security can enable the United States to shape the strategic environment by enhancing and

broadening the relations between other states. These expanded and enhanced relations can then have positive effects on regional and global stability by mitigating and marginalizing the underlying causes of tensions and conflict and by maximizing those areas on which countries can work together, while minimizing the areas where they cannot. In this manner, The U.S. can assume a proactive role in shaping the emerging strategic environment.

Although it is an iterative process, building interdependency among nations is the most effective method for sustaining regional peace and stability. Multinational security interdependency within other systems in addition to defense can foster lasting peace and stability. It should be used to shape the strategic landscape. When security partnerships are established, economic partnerships will soon follow. For example, the Departments of State, Treasury, and Commerce should work in concert with U.S. transnational corporations. Companies considering investments in certain regions should balance their outsourcing throughout the region; thereby, facilitating economic interdependency among nations.

Effects-Based Approach. The U.S. — working with its allies, friends, and partners — can leverage the Effects-Based concepts in carrying out a policy of Emboldened Cooperative Security. The Effects-Based approach will produce a wide range of options to optimally shape the strategic environment to achieve regional peace and stability. The goal is to create desired operational and strategic outcomes while avoiding or mitigating negative second-and-third order effects. This approach identifies actions that will build relationships that are in concert with regional and global security objectives. This approach will also facilitate identification of allied and partnership capacities that need strengthening.

To benefit from an effects-based approach to a national security strategy of “Emboldened” Cooperative Security, the strategic environment must be viewed as a system of systems that generate variable consequences through the interrelationships of each system and associated subsystems. Using the systems paradigm to map the strategic environment will enhance situational awareness and allow for execution of requisite initiatives to achieve the desired effects. Cooperative security planning must incorporate political, military, social, economic, informational, and infrastructure sub-systems into the strategic environment. Analysis of interrelationships among these subsystems will identify linkages of key nodes throughout the whole system. Within this environment there are critical linkages between nodes that must be maintained or established to sustain regional security and stability. For example, building linkages in the political and military systems between states which border a rogue state can enhance multilateral effects that will deter aggression. Flexibility and adaptation are key characteristics of a strategy to sustain long-term stability and security within a strategic

environment. The strategic environment will not remain static following the implementation of a strategy of Emboldened Cooperative Security. As desired effects are achieved, sequels to the plan must be initiated to sustain long-term favorable conditions. Moreover, on-going branch planning must counter undesired effects of our adversaries in response to initiated actions.

An Effects-Based cooperative security strategy can effectively shape the strategic environment to curtail rogue state's and organizations' behavior through the realignment of states to achieve a 21st Century regional security framework. This overarching desired effect can be achieved by leveraging the concepts of the systems approach to identify and analyze interrelationships of the key nodes and linkages of the subsystems that that makeup the strategic environment system. Actions should focus on strengthening or establishing linkages of critical nodes between states and subsystems to foster conditions for desired effects. Conversely, actions must be taken to weaken or dissolve linkages of an adversary's critical nodes that can cause undesired effects.

Conclusion

Globalization is not a new phenomenon, nor is it easily defined in terms that are relevant for strategic and force planning. It is true that several key trends are reshaping much of global society. These include a far more integrated structure of trade and investment, the growth of multinational corporations, the integration of telecommunications and information systems, and a steady increase in the use of computer systems and automation. At the same time, globalization can have a very different meaning in military terms. The world of the 21st century may be no more peaceful than the world of the 20th, or of any century before it. Progress is as likely to occur in the means of conflict as in the means of conflict resolution.⁶²

The U.S.' promotion of globalization as a key element of its national security strategy to promote global peace and stability must be complemented with a new security and defense policy based on a concept of Emboldened Cooperative Security to protect national interest and manage the political and social consequences of a globalized world. Internationally, the United States cannot predict how the strategic environment will evolve in the 21st Century. U.S. strategic leaders are beginning to discern issues concerning the protection of national interests – interests that are expanding through globalization. Fundamentals of maritime strategies, as promulgated by Alfred Thayer Mahan and Julian Corbett, should inform this new security strategy for the 21st Century. Given the vast number of uncertainties in the global security environment, coupled with the expanding interests of the U.S. its allies, friends, and partners, proactive strategic shaping is essential.

For the most part, the nature and conduct of 21st century war will be limited, with fairly restrained adversaries. The U.S. has learned valuable lessons from the invasion of Iraq, primarily the negative global reaction to a widespread perception of U.S. occupation of a sovereign country. In the future, the U.S. will resort to quick, decisive military actions to reach its political aims. To achieve this, the U.S. must rely upon an effects-based multilateral approach to a national security strategy of Emboldened Cooperative Security. Emboldened Cooperative Security will provide rings of access to areas the United States considers vital to its national interests. During this era of expanding globalization developing nations will endure growing pains from unintended backlashes in the economic, social, or political backlashes. The kinetic solution will not always be the best solution to solve conflicts. Security cooperation in the diplomatic and information realms should be the first option to address the challenges of conflict in a globalized world.

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